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## LYSIPPUS AS A WORKER IN MARBLE

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WITH the discovery at Delphi, in 1897, of the group of statues dedicated by Daochus, a new impetus was given to the study of Lysippus. When Preuner<sup>1</sup> found the same metrical inscription which was on the base of the best preserved statue of the group — the Agias — in the travelling journal of Stackelberg, copied from a base in Pharsalus, the home of Daochus, with the added words that Lysippus of Sicyon was the sculptor of the statue, our views of Lysippus had to undergo revision.

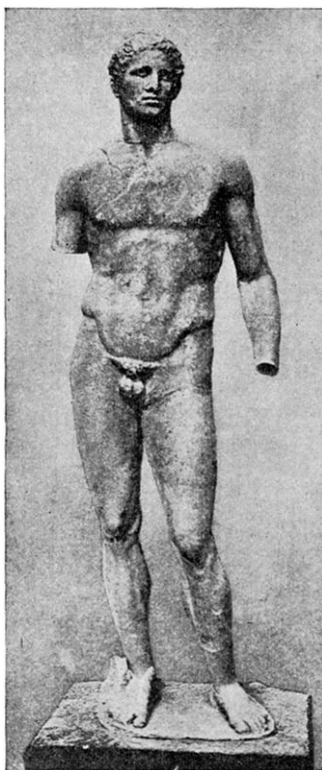


FIGURE 1. — STATUE OF AGIAS.

For this discovery brought the Agias (Fig. 1) — if not the others in the group — into direct connection with Lysippus by documentary evidence, while the easily recognized Lysippian characteristics of the statue confirmed this connection on stylistic grounds. It was clear that Daochus had set up a series of statues in honor of his ancestors both at Pharsalus and at Delphi. Whether the Thessalian group was of bronze, as is generally held owing to the widespread belief that Lysippus worked only in metal, and the group at Delphi was composed of marble replicas of these original bronze statues, will

<sup>1</sup> *Ein Delphisches Weihgeschenck*. Leipzig, 1900.

be discussed later. If the marble statues were copies, the inference is that they reproduced the originals, if not mechanically (as in later Roman days was the custom) at least faithfully; for having employed noted artists like Lysippus in the one case, the dedicator would have wished careful and accurate reproductions in the other. In any case it is safe to assume that the Agias represents the style and characteristics of Lysippus himself, and we are justified in making this statue the centre of our treatment of this artist.

But another statue, the so-called Apoxyomenus (Fig. 2), had, ever since its discovery in 1849, held this honored position. The words of Pliny (XXXIV, 62) describing one of Lysippus' best known works as an athlete "*destringens se*," and recording that this artist introduced a new canon into art, "*capita minora faciendo quam antiqui, corpora graciliora siccioraque, per quae proceritas signorum major videretur*," seemed to have their best illustration in this statue, which, though admittedly a late Roman work, has been looked upon as a copy of an original by Lysippus, and as faithfully representing his style in detail. When, however, the Apoxyomenus and the Agias were compared, despite certain marked similarities of pose, slender body and limbs, and small head increasing the apparent height (characteristics not exclusively Lysippian, as we see them quite as prominently in some other works, *e.g.* the warriors of the Mausoleum frieze), nevertheless the differences were seen to be so striking that it seemed futile to some to attempt to keep both statues as examples of the work of the same artist, even if they were assigned to different periods of his career.

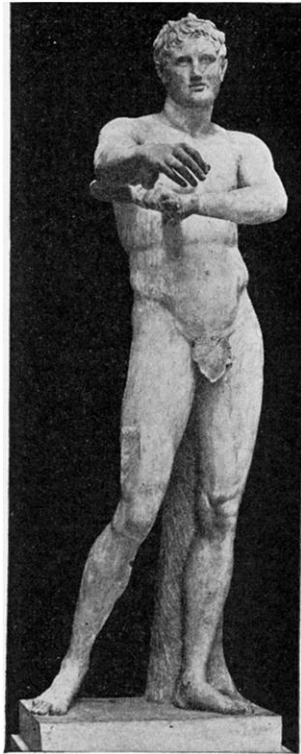


FIGURE 2. — APOXYOMENUS.

These differences are most obvious in the surface modelling and facial expression of the two works: in the Agias the muscles are not overemphasized in detail, but show the simple directness of observation of artists who worked before the critical study of anatomy in the Alexandrian schools had reacted upon sculpture; in the Apoxyomenus, however, we see an intentional display of the results of this study in the drawn and labored muscular treatment, showing the artist's correct knowledge of the human form, a knowledge which characterized the sculptors of later Hellenistic times, when technique was learned and well nigh perfect, but freshness and vigor were wanting. Such academic work — which culminates later in realistic works like the Laocoön — hardly antedates the beginning of the third century, and there is absolutely no trace of it in the Agias. Furthermore, the face of the Agias has the intense expression, elsewhere seen only in works supposed to show the influence of Scopas, which recalls what the ancient critics,<sup>1</sup> notably Plutarch, said of Lysippus' portraits of Alexander as reproducing his manly and leonine air. A comparison of this face with that of the Apoxyomenus, which exhibits the utter lack of vigor and expression common in early Hellenistic works, makes it still more clear that we should no longer regard both these statues as examples of the style of one and the same artist.

Many critics have had their doubts about the Apoxyomenus, as its Hellenistic character has become more and more apparent, and have offered various explanations, not wishing to give the statue up as evidence. So far back as 1877 Köhler,<sup>2</sup> admitting these later characteristics, still thought the Roman copyist had preserved the general type of the original statue of Lysippus, though he had modernized the anatomical treatment. In a recent book,<sup>3</sup> Professor Michaelis expresses the opinion that the Agias is an early work of Lysippus, who was at that time under the influence of Scopas and Polyclitus, but whose style changed in his later years to that seen in the Apoxyomenus. But the Agias is no youthful work of Lysippus, nor can the influence of Scopas upon this artist

<sup>1</sup> For ancient criticisms of Lysippus see Overbeck's *Schriftquellen*, pp. 287 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Mitt.* 1877, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> *Arch. Entdeckungen d. 19<sup>ten</sup> Jahrh.* p. 276.

have been that of master upon pupil, as is generally assumed ; but rather that of one great artist upon an independent contemporary. These points will be discussed later in this paper. The differences between the two statues seem too great to be reconciled on any such principle—their style and workmanship seem manifestly of two different periods. By separating them entirely, as P. Gardner<sup>1</sup> in his illuminating discussion of this whole question has done, we can rightly assign to Lysippus the early date which other evidence requires, and remove the Apoxyomenus from the fourth century altogether, thus explaining its later modelling, its expressionless features, and the build of the figure, which shows the use of three instead of two planes; and doubtless we should see with Gardner in the original a work not by Lysippus at all, but by some pupil or later member of his school. After thus eliminating the Apoxyomenus, we are justified in using the Agias as the centre of our future treatment of this artist, as furnishing the truest indication of his style, and best supported by circumstantial evidence.

As the Agias is the statue of a victor, we can form from it an idea of the manner in which Lysippus represented his athletes ; in giving up the Apoxyomenus, we must also give up statues of athletes,<sup>2</sup> which have hitherto, on the basis of their

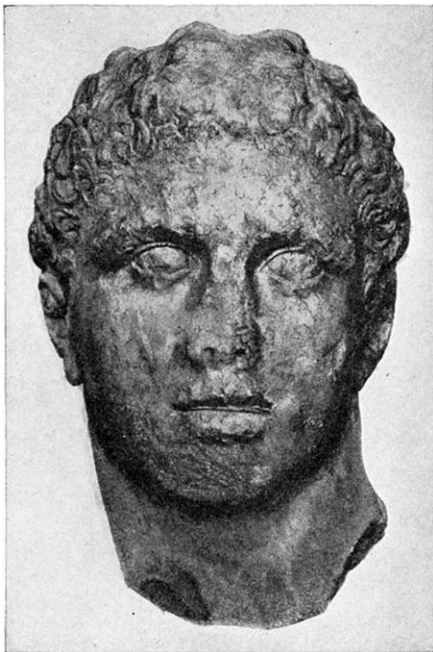


FIGURE 3.—HEAD OF PHILANDRIDAS.

<sup>1</sup> *J.H.S.* 1905, pp. 234 ff.

<sup>2</sup> As, *e.g.*, those ascribed to Lysippus by Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 364 and n. 2.

resemblance to it, been assigned to this artist, and future ascriptions of this class of statues must be based on stylistic resemblance to the Agias.<sup>1</sup> Impressed by its remarkable likeness to the head of the Agias, I, some time ago,<sup>2</sup> hazarded the opinion that the much discussed marble head (Figs. 3 and 4) from Olympia<sup>3</sup> was Lysippian, and attempted to bring it into

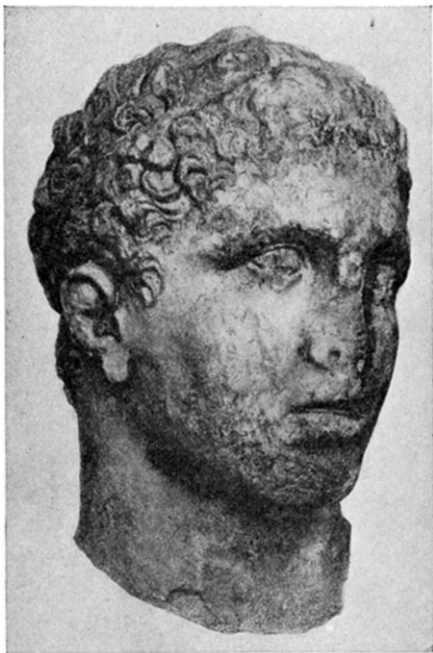


FIGURE 4. — HEAD OF PHILANDRIDAS.

relation with the statue of the Acarnanian boxer (whose name I restored as Philandridas) which Pausanias (VI, 2, 1) says was the work of Lysippus. Since then, after a careful study of the evidence, my original opinion has become conviction, and I now have no hesitancy in expressing the belief that in this beautiful marble head we have to do with an original work by Lysippus himself. It will be the purpose of the present paper to examine the reasons which lead me, in spite of serious and weighty objections, to maintain this view.

At first this head was ascribed with surprising unanimity to the school of Praxiteles,<sup>4</sup> and later, after the discovery of the Tegean heads, with almost equal unanimity to that of Scopas. Treu,<sup>5</sup> who first published the head, pointed out its near relationship to the Hermes, which appeared to him to be obvious, notwithstanding the injured condition of chin, nose, mouth, and

<sup>1</sup> Such a statue in Copenhagen (Ny-Carlsberg, no. 240) is ascribed to Lysippus by Mahler, *Polyklet u. seine Schule*, p. 153, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> In *De Olympionicarum Statuis*, Halle, 1902, and enlarged 1903, pp. 27 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ausgr. v. Olympia*, V (1881), Taf. XX; also *Ergebnisse* III, Taf. LIV, 3-4.

<sup>4</sup> The head is still exhibited at Olympia in the same room as the Hermes.

<sup>5</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, p. 114, and *Ausgr. v. Ol.* V, pp. 13-14.

brows. He found the general proportions, the shape of the cranium and forehead, and the form of the cheeks and mouth the same, while the differences, the deeper cut and wider opened eyes, with their γοργόν expression, the hair, and the fact that the whole head is harder, leaner, and bonier than that of the Hermes, were all explained on account of the different character given the statue of a victor. Many other archaeologists, like Bötticher,<sup>1</sup> Laloux and Monceaux,<sup>2</sup> and Furtwängler,<sup>3</sup> have seen sure signs of the hand of Praxiteles or his school in the graceful attitude, delicate chiselling and finish of the work. Still others,<sup>4</sup> however, found every characteristic of Scopas in this head. Even Treu later found the head more Scopaic than Praxitelian, and yet, by a careful analysis,<sup>5</sup> he conclusively shows that the formation of the eyes, opening of the mouth, and treatment of the hair are so different in the heads from Tegea (and especially in that of Heracles) as to preclude the possibility of assigning them and the head from Olympia to the same sculptor, and so he declares for some independent sculptor among the contemporaries of Scopas. But he does not see Lysippus in this allied but independent sculptor, though he admits the resemblance of the head in question to that of the Agias, as do Homolle,<sup>6</sup> Mahler,<sup>7</sup> and other critics.



FIGURE 5.—HEAD OF AGIAS.

A detailed comparison of this head with that of the Agias (Fig.

<sup>1</sup> *Olympia*, p. 343.

<sup>2</sup> *Restauration d'Olympie*, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. *Herakles*, p. 2166.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Gräf, *Röm. Mitt.* 1889, pp. 189–226, and v. Sybel, *Lütfow's Zeitsch.* N. F. II, pp. 253 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Olympia, Ergebnisse*, III, 1897, pp. 208–209, and n. 1 to p. 209.

<sup>6</sup> *B.C.H.* XXIII, p. 456.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 149.

5) will show wherein the wonderful resemblance — so striking at first glance — consists, and will prove its Lysippian character. Neither head is a portrait, nor even individualized; the Agias could be no portrait, for Agias was the great-grandfather of Daochus, who enlisted the services of his contemporary, Lysippus, in erecting the dedication, and he won his victory in the pancratium over a century before these statues were set up.<sup>1</sup> A glance at the head from Olympia also clearly discloses its ideal character; for it is no portrait of Philandridas, but the victor *κατ' ἐξοχήν* in the pancratium. The small head of the Agias — under life size — first arrests attention as the chief characteristic of the whole statue, and, taken with the other proportions of the body, the chief mark of its Lysippian origin. As Homolle says, it is not that small heads are not found outside the school of Lysippus or before his day, — for Myron can furnish examples of them, — but it is only with Lysippus and after him that we see a conscious intention of having the proportions thus reduced. Now the head from Olympia is also less than life size,<sup>2</sup> but as the head alone is preserved, we can only assume the proportions it bore to the body to be similar to those we see in the Agias. The conformation of both crania is, as in Attic works, round, with small only slightly projecting occiputs, as opposed to the squareness of Polyclitan heads, which are longer from front to back and flatter on top, — showing how Lysippus in this respect departed from the Doryphorus. This cranial conformation is almost identical in both heads, as is clearly shown in the accompanying diagram (Fig. 6), where one is drawn in profile over the other.

The head of the Agias is turned slightly upward and to the left. Treu found traces of the use of a file on the back of the neck of the head from Olympia, which show from their position, what also was clear from the muscles of the throat, that this head also was inclined somewhat to the left and upward, pos-

<sup>1</sup> Preuner (*op. cit.* p. 12) dates the dedication 339–331 B.C. Homolle (*op. cit.* p. 440) more closely, 338–334. Preuner dates Agias' victory about 450 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Treu, *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, p. 114, gives these measurements :

Height with neck . . . .	0.270 m.	Breadth of face . . . .	0.127 m.
Height of head alone . . .	0.215 m.	Height of face . . . .	0.155 m.
Breadth of head . . . .	0.170 m.		



sibly more than that of the Agias. The outlines of the face — lean and bony in both — are oval, in the head from Olympia somewhat broader, rounder, and fleshier toward the chin. In both the forehead is remarkably low, with a low depression or crease in the middle and with a very prominently projecting superciliary arcade, which breaks the continuous line from forehead to nose very perceptibly. This line is concave above and

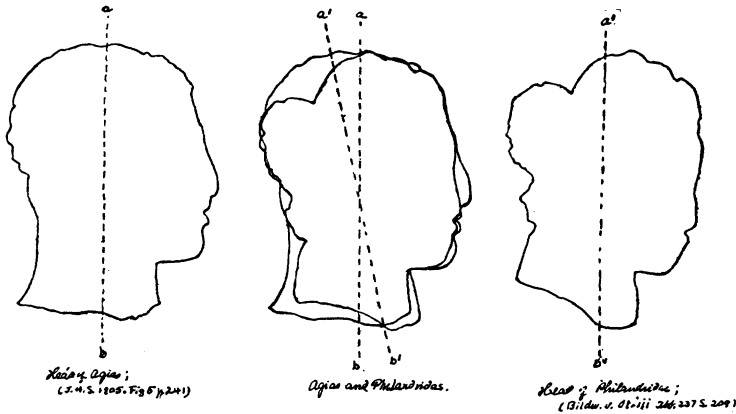


FIGURE 6. — PROFILES OF AGIAS AND PHILANDRIDAS.

below, but convex at the projection itself, though this is less prominent in the Agias. The powerful framing of the eyes, which are deep set and thrown into heavy shadows by the projecting bony structure of the brows and the overhanging masses of flesh, the eyeballs slightly raised and peering eagerly into the far distance, the slight upward inclination of the head, and the prominent forehead drawn together, all combine to give both heads, though young and vigorous, a pensive, even a sad look of heroic dignity, a look seemingly of one who takes no joy nor pleasure in victory, though it is not profoundly mournful. This humid and pensive expression was doubtless a characteristic of works of Lysippus (it was, as we know, present in his portraits of Alexander), though he did not treat it with the intensity of Scopas.

The eyeballs in both heads are strongly arched, though the inner angles are not so deep as in Scopaic heads: the raised upper lids form a symmetrically narrow and sharply defined

border over the eyeball, and in neither head is this lid covered by a fold of skin at the outer corners, as in the Tegean heads; the mass of flesh at the outer corners is heavier in the head from Olympia, and the expression of the eyes is more free and defiant than in the more meditative Agias. In both the cheek bones are high and prominent. The elegant contour of the lips of the Agias is wholly wanting in the head from Olympia, as the lips are broken off, like the nose and the chin, but it is clear that they too were slightly parted, just showing the teeth, not, however, as in the Tegean examples, as if the breath were being drawn with great effort. The look of pensiveness is also increased by the open lips. The contour of the jaw bone is not so visible as in the Agias, where it is clearly discernible beneath the closely drawn skin, giving the face a look of greater leanness, as of an athlete in perfect training.

In both heads the swollen and battered ears, though small, are prominent, and in both the hair is closely cropped, as becomes the athlete. The hair of the Agias does not show so much expression as is displayed in that of some Lysippian heads, nor the nice detail we should expect from Pliny's statement that Lysippus excelled in the treatment of hair—for it is in great measure only sketched out. In Lysippian portraits of Alexander the hair is generally expressively treated, and this is often the case in early Hellenistic heads.<sup>1</sup> However, we should not expect an elaborate treatment of the hair in the statue of a pancratiast. The head from Olympia also shows great simplicity in this regard. As in Scopaic heads, the hair is fashioned into little ringlets ruffled straight up from the forehead in flat relief, though the curls are shorter and more tense. It covers the temples and surrounds the ears as in the Agias, though it is not, as there, bounded by a round floating line across the forehead nor divided into little tufts modelled in relief radiating in concentric circles from the top of the head. Though lacking in detail, the hair of the Agias is treated carefully and with the greatest variety. Narrow bands, perhaps the insignia of victory despite their small size, encircle both

<sup>1</sup> The hair, however, of the Apoxyomenus is an exception, for, even if worked out with some care, it is devoid of expression.

heads: in the Agias the band is dextrously used to heighten the effect of variety in the hair by alternately flattening and swelling it here and there. In neither head is there any sign of the use of the drill to work out the tufts of the hair; only the chisel was used.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, the whole expression of these two ideal heads is one of force and energy, of heroic dignity tempered by a humid pensiveness and pathos, which is even, in the head from Olympia at least, a little dramatic. The fierce, almost barbarous look of this head may well be explained by its representing a victor from Acarnania, a country noted among the other Greek states for anything but culture and refinement. Both heads, though ideal, show close observation of nature in modelling and expression; and both show Lysippus' predilection for types in which force and energy predominate, and his indifference to the softer and more delicate types of manly beauty so characteristic of his contemporary, Praxiteles.

In the foregoing comparison, I have assumed that this marble head is from an athlete statue and moreover, like the Agias, represents a victor in boxing, though many have seen in it no victor but a youthful Heracles. The swollen ears and the band in the hair might pass equally well for either, just as the fact that it was unearthed in the ruins of the gymnasium (if it were necessary to assume that the statue once stood there) might be adduced as evidence for either interpretation; for statues of athletes as well as those of Heracles (who like Hermes was a patron of athletic exercises) adorned palaestras and gymnasia. That the head is of marble and slightly under life size seems to lend some support also to the belief that it is a fragment of a statue of Heracles, on the assumption that statues of victors in the Altis were uniformly of bronze, an assumption, however, not supported by facts, as will be shown later. So some have seen the heroic features of the youthful hero in the *γοργόν* of the eyes, the energetic forehead, closely cropped hair, muscular neck, and almost challenging inclination of the head seemingly corresponding to an energetic raising of the left shoulder.

<sup>1</sup> The use of the drill is seen in the Praxitelian Hermes, but is not seen in the Tegean heads, nor is it common in the first half of the fourth century. Cf. Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 309.

In determining whether a given head belongs to a statue of a victor or of Heracles, we are aided but little by the swollen ears; for as Reisch<sup>1</sup> has pointed out, though these may in early times have played a rôle as the characteristic of a boxer, later they served just as well as a characteristic of pancratiasts and even athletes in general. Boxers were sufficiently characterized by the thongs which they carried in the hand, as in the case of the statue of Acusilaus,<sup>2</sup> or wound around the forearm. Many statues besides those of boxers had swollen ears, *e.g.* the Borghese warrior, the Munich Diomedes, various statues of Ares, Heracles, and the Dioscuri. So they are no personal characteristic, only a professional one common to athletes and gods alike, if these latter have practised athletic exercises. Where personal attributes are absent it is therefore often difficult to determine whether an ideal athlete or a Heracles is intended, for it may be the hero in the guise of an athlete or an athlete in the guise of the hero. And many statues of athletes were more or less assimilated to those of Heracles, for this hero was especially honored by victors in the *πάλη* and *παγκράτιον*. Pausanias (V, 8, 4), as well as other writers, mentions his mythical victories in these contests, and in another passage the periegete says that beginning with the 142d Olympiad, whoever won on the same day in both these events, was called *πρῶτος, δεύτερος, κ.τ.λ. ἄφ' Ἡρακλέους*.

So it is not surprising that some have regarded the head under discussion as that of a youthful Heracles. Yet this view is manifestly wrong; for, apart from all considerations of identifying it with the Acarnanian pancratiast, and in the absence of distinguishing attributes, if it be compared with another Lysippian head from a statue universally recognized as that of a Heracles,—the famous one in Lansdowne House,—we can at once see how fundamentally different is the whole spiritual conception and how differently an athlete—even if highly idealized—and a hero are treated by the same artist. And if we once recognize in it a victor, then the swollen ears, fierce, almost barbarous look of the eyes, and half-painful expression of the mouth all concur in convinc-

<sup>1</sup> *Griechische Weihgesch.* pp. 42-43.

<sup>2</sup> The thongs are mentioned in Schol. to Pindar, *Ol.* VII, p. 156 B.

ing us that we here have to do with a victor in boxing, the most brutal and dangerous of contests.

Having established the Lysippian character of the head, and the fact that it is from a statue of a victor in boxing (or the pancratium), we will next see what is the evidence for identifying it with one of the statues mentioned by Pausanias in his periegesis of the Altis. He names only five statues of victors by Lysippus: those of Troilus (VI, 1, 4), victor in the chariot race, Philandridas (VI, 2, 1) and Polydamas (VI, 5, 1) in the pancratium, Chilon (VI, 4, 6) in wrestling, and Callicrates (VI, 17, 3) in the heavy armed race. Of these the only two which could come into consideration are those of the two pancratiasts, and one of these, that of Polydamas, can at once be eliminated, for this small head can have nothing to do with the pretentious monument mentioned by Pausanias in these words: ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βάρβρῳ τῷ ὑψηλῷ Λυσίππου μὲν ἐστὶν ἔργον, μέγιστος δὲ ἀπάντων ἐγένετο ἀνθρώπων κ.τ.λ. Fragments of the basis of this monument have been found, and it stood in a part of the Altis<sup>1</sup> too far removed from the spot where the Philandridas stood or that where the marble head was found. Our choice then is limited to the statue of Philandridas, the tenth in the series of 169 named by Pausanias in his first "victor ephodus."

We can determine very closely the position of these first few statues in the Altis. Pausanias (VI, 1, 3) begins his enumeration ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Ἥρας, in the northwest of the sacred enclosure. I have elsewhere<sup>2</sup> shown that these words must be taken of the temple "*pro persona*" and so must refer to the southern side of the Heraeum. Pausanias is often loose in his employment of words to denote position, and especially in that of the terms ἐν δεξιᾷ and ἐν ἀριστερᾷ, which must be interpreted sometimes from the point of view of the spectator and at others from that of a given monument. Now we have no idea where Pausanias was just before he commenced his victor periegesis at the beginning of his sixth book; for at the end of the fifth book (27, 11) he is manifestly in the centre of the Altis, but in the next paragraph (27, 12), which seems to have been added as a transition to his account of the statues of victors, he speaks of the trophy of the Mendaeans, which, he says, he nearly mis-

<sup>1</sup> East of the Temple of Zeus. See *De Olymp. Stat.* p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 64.

took for a pentathlete, as it stood near the statue of the Elean wrestler Anauchidas, a statue which must have stood somewhere between the eastern front of the Temple of Zeus and the Echo Hall and so far away from the centre of the Altis.<sup>1</sup> It is, therefore, impossible to accept the theory of Dörpfeld<sup>2</sup> that Pausanias approached the Heraeum from this point to begin the athlete periegesis, and that the words *ἐν δεξιᾷ* mean the space before the eastern front of the temple. So we are left entirely dependent upon the meaning of the words *ἐν δεξιᾷ* as to whence Pausanias started. Now the eastern end of a temple is always the front, if no special part is mentioned, as *e.g.* in V, 24, 3: *τοῦ ναοῦ δέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ μεγάλου Ζεὺς πρὸς ἀνατολὰς ἡλίου*.<sup>3</sup> The marble head was found in this neighborhood, in the wall of a late Byzantine hut behind the southern end of the stadium hall of the great gymnasium, 23.50 m. north of its south-eastern corner and 5 m. east of its back wall,<sup>4</sup> and therefore very near the Heraeum. Inasmuch as the inscribed tablet from the base of the statue of Troilus (VI, 1, 4), the sixth statue mentioned by Pausanias, and the inscribed base of the monument of Cynisca (VI, 1, 6), the seventh, were both found near by in the Prytaneum, and the basis of the statue of Sophius (VI, 1, 3), the twenty-second in the series, was found also in this part of the Altis in the bed of the Cladeus,<sup>5</sup> we can conclude that all four monuments originally stood near together and in the order named by Pausanias, along the southern side of the Heraeum.

<sup>1</sup> *De Olymp. Stat.* p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Olympia, Ergebnisse*, I, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Blümner, reviewing my monograph *De Olymp. Stat.* (*Berl. Phil. W.* 1904, col. 1382), objects to my interpretation of *ἐν δεξιᾷ*, and admits not one but three possibilities; a) of the temple *pro persona*, *i.e.* south side; b) of a spectator facing the eastern front, *i.e.* the northern half of the space before the eastern front; c) of a spectator with his back to this front, *i.e.* the southern half of this space. But if Pausanias had meant either of the two latter, he would have said, not *ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ναοῦ* but *πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ* or *ἀπαντικρὺ τοῦ ναοῦ* as in V, 27, 1. There is no need of making him out more ambiguous than he is. In other passages he seems clear enough when speaking of temples: cf. V, 26, 2 and VIII, 38, 2 (the latter cited by Blümner himself), where Mt. Lycosura is *ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Δεσποίνης*, *i.e.* to the north of the temple. In V, 21, 2 it is also clear which side is meant.

<sup>4</sup> *Olympia, Ergebnisse*, III, p. 209.

<sup>5</sup> See *Inscr. v. Ol.* nos. 166 (Troilus), 160 (Cynisca), 172 (Sophius).

There are traces of the use of the file on the back of the neck of the marble head, and the hair is merely blocked out behind, especially near the left ear, so that not even the contours of the locks are marked out. This unfinished condition of the head, the remarkably good preservation of the surface, and the fact that it was found in the gymnasium led Treu and others to suppose that it once adorned an inner room of the exercise place of the athletes. The Praxitelian Hermes also shows an unfinished treatment of the hair at the back of the head, due, as Furtwängler conjectures (*Mastertpieces*, p. 308, n. 7), to the fact that it was made to be placed against the inner wall of the Heraeum. Just so, without doubt, the statue of Philandridas was intended to be set up against a solid background. It seems most probable that it, as well as some of the other statues just mentioned, was placed along the southern steps of the temple, doubtless against a column and so more or less sheltered.

The date of the victory of this Philandridas is not recorded, but it is clear that it must lie within the years of the activity of Lysippus who made his statue. On the principle, which has been sufficiently demonstrated in my monograph *De Olympionicarum Statuis*, that statues of nearly contemporaneous victors were grouped together in the Altis, as well as those of the same family or state, or those who had been victorious in the same contest, I already (*ibid.* p. 27) have proposed Ol. 102 or 103 (372 or 368 B.C.) as the probable date of his victory, as his statue stands among those of victors, none of whom can have won later than Ol. 104. The first six mentioned are all Eleans and the dates of their victories fall between Ols. 94–104; the sixth, Troilus, certainly won in Ol. 102, as Pausanias records, while none of the following seven Spartans, among whom was placed the statue of Philandridas, can be later than Ol. 97, and most of them belong to the close of the fifth century. Sostratus (VI, 4, 1) won in the same contest as Philandridas in Ol. 104, and doubtless his two other victories should be assigned to the two succeeding Olympiades, and to bring Philandridas down as far as Ol. 107 is unwarranted, since no statue of so late a date stood in this vicinity. On the other hand, to place his victory earlier than Ol. 102 is also out of the

question, owing to the inexpediency of dating Lysippus so early. So doubtless his statue was placed in the Spartan group at about the same time as that of Troilus, by the same sculptor, was placed among the Eleans. This is an independent argument then for so early a date for Lysippus.<sup>1</sup>

P. Gardner, in the discussion of the date of this artist,<sup>2</sup> has shown how flimsy is the evidence for any date later than 320 B.C., the probable date of Chilon's statue (Paus. VI, 4, 6-7), and that the wish not to separate him from the Apoxyomenus has been the real reason that influenced so many archaeologists to extend his activity to the end of the fourth century, and to explain away the evidence for an earlier date offered by the statue of Troilus. If we once for all give up the Apoxyomenus, the difficulty in an early dating disappears, as does also the theory that Scopas could have strongly influenced the youthful Lysippus as a master would a pupil, and it becomes clear that this influence must have been mutual, that of one great contemporary artist upon another. Though Lysippus worked longer, as is attested by his work for Alexander and his generals, he could have been but little younger than either Scopas or Praxiteles, from both of whom he learned. As Homolle<sup>3</sup> says, an analysis of the style of the Agias shows the mixed influences of Praxiteles and Scopas as well as the independent work of Lysippus, in the pose, proportions, and whole type of the figure.

Lysippus was a great reformer in art, breaking away from Argive and Polyclitan traditions, even though he called the Doryphorus as well as Nature his master, and though the influence of Polyclitus is visible in the body of the Agias and that of Scopas in the treatment of forehead, eyes, and mouth and in the intensity of expression. Evidently he was strongly affected by the work of his great predecessors and contemporaries, but developed at the same time new and

<sup>1</sup> For the early dating of Lysippus, cf. Winter, *Jb. Arch. I.* VII, 1892, p. 169; Treu, *Olympia, Ergebnisse*, III, p. 211, and Milchhöfer, *Arch. Stud. für H. Brunn*, p. 66, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 245-249.

<sup>3</sup> *B.C.H.* XXIII, p. 422. The Agias is but slightly later than the Hermes if we accept Furtwängler's dating for the latter, about 343 B.C. (*Masterpieces*, pp. 307-308).



independent tendencies. Thus the Philandridas must have been—like the lost statue of Troilus—an early work of the master, whereas the Agias was the work of his mature genius. The difference between the two can thus be explained by the lapse of time between them and by the early influences that surrounded the youthful artist; but the similarities between them are striking, and there is little resemblance in either to the Apoxyomenus, another link in the chain of evidence that the latter could not have been produced by the same artist, for artists do not radically change their style after many years of work, and Lysippus must have been well over fifty years old when he created the Agias.

The identification of this marble head with that of the victor statue of the Acarnanian pancratiast by Lysippus, raises two important questions which I shall briefly examine; whether these statues in the Altis were ever of marble, and whether Lysippus ever worked in that material. Pausanias throughout his whole victor periegesis (and he enumerates 192 monuments) makes no mention of the material of which statues of victors were made, except in the case of the first two set up at Olympia, those of Praxidamas and Rhexibius, who won in Ol. 59 and Ol. 57 respectively (VI, 18, 7); and it is evident that he mentions these two because of their antiquity, their special position in the Altis apart from the others (near the column of Oenomaus), and their material, for they were of wood and consequently badly weatherbeaten. In his book on Achaia, in speaking of the statue of the victor Promachus, set up in the gymnasium of Pellene, he says (VII, 27, 5): *καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνας ποιήσαντες οἱ Πελληνεῖς τὴν μὲν ἐς Ὀλυμπίαν ἀνέθεσαν, τὴν δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ λίθου ταύτην καὶ οὐ χαλκοῦ*. Many archaeologists have inferred from these words that, although Pausanias says nothing about the material of statues of victors in the Altis, they were all of bronze,—an argument *ex silentio*. Other writers furnish no evidence concerning the material used in these statues. Moreover, all the artists mentioned by Pausanias in his victor periegesis are known to us—if known at all—as bronze workers *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, and none is known exclusively as a sculptor in marble. Furthermore, all the bases excavated and identified show clear marks that the statues

upon them were of metal, and there are even bronze fragments of these statues, identified through inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> Thus at first sight it would seem that the case for metal statues was well made out; and doubtless the belief that the statues of victors, as well as the other statues in the Altis, were usually of metal is well founded. The fact that so few fragments of these monuments have survived, is in itself a proof of this, as bronze was eagerly sought by the barbarian plunderers of Olympia, and on *a priori* grounds as well we should have assumed metal to be the material for monuments standing in the open air and subject to all kinds of weathering; besides, the later Peloponnesian schools of athletic sculpture, characterized by their predilection for bronze founding, would nowhere be more prominently in evidence than at Olympia.

But that there were many exceptions to this general rule can be not only conjectured but proved from actual discoveries at the excavations. The silence of Pausanias as to the material used in these statues is in accordance with his general custom, for he rarely mentions the materials of monuments and only where bronze and stone stand closely together in a circumscribed area, as when he enumerates the various monuments in the Heraeum (V, 17, 3). In introducing the statue of the *παῖς ἀναδούμενος* of Phidias (VI, 4, 5) — whatever this statue may have been<sup>2</sup> — between the statues of Leontiscus and Satyrus, though manifestly it must have been of marble, he makes no mention of the fact. The words quoted above which specify bronze as the material of the statue of Promachus at Olympia must be intended to distinguish that from the stone one at Pellene, and we are not justified in drawing from them any wider inference. Other stone statues of victors are men-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Inscr. v. Ol.* V, pp. 234-235. Also a bronze foot ascribed by Furtwängler (*Olympia, Ergebnisse*, IV, Taf. II, III, p. 11) to one of the statues of Caper (VI, 15, 10).

<sup>2</sup> Furtwängler (*Masterpieces*, p. 40, n. 1) and others look upon it as a votive offering; however, the possibility of its being an unknown boy victor cannot be excluded; in several instances Pausanias does not know the victor's name, e.g. the Samian boxer (VI, 2, 9) and the Arcadian boxer (VI, 8, 5), whose statue by Myron a century later was used for Philip of Pellene (for the curious difficulty of Pausanias in regard to the latter statue see my explanation, *De Olymp. Stat.* p. 39). Other examples of unnamed statues are VI, 15, 7 and VI, 3, 1.

tioned outside of Olympia, *e.g.*, that of Arrachion at Phigaleia (VIII, 40, 1); why then should we not believe that there were statues of stone at Olympia, even if Pausanias does not mention them? Besides, he mentions only a few of the great number of statues of victors there, as he himself (VI, 1, 2) says. Pliny (XXXIV, 16) says that it was the custom for all victors to set up their statues in the Altis, and though this merely refers to the privilege, of which many victors could not or did not avail themselves on account of poverty, early death, or for other reasons (Pausanias, VI, 1, 1, says that not all victors set up statues), still the number of such statues in the Altis must have been very great. Not one-fifth<sup>1</sup> of those mentioned by Pausanias are known to us through the recovered inscriptions, and doubtless many of the number not mentioned would not be of the usual material. Just as many victors, owing to the expense involved, contented themselves with small bronze statues, — several such statuettes have been recovered at Olympia,<sup>2</sup> and that they were common elsewhere is shown by the many athlete statuettes, especially Discoboli, in European museums, — so others would use a cheaper material than bronze, just as was done elsewhere, *e.g.* in the cases of Promachus and Arrachion mentioned above. Treu<sup>3</sup> mentions marble fragments of several life-size statues of victors as well as of others which were made smaller (three-fifths size) for the sake of economy, and also of several statues of boy victors. So the objection to assigning the marble head under discussion to the statue of Philandridas, on the ground that statues of victors were uniformly of metal, is shown to be groundless.

But to regard a marble work as an original work of Lysippus, who has almost universally been looked upon as a worker in bronze exclusively, seems much more objectionable.

<sup>1</sup> Gurlitt (*Über Pausanias*, p. 414), less correctly, one-sixth. From corrected lists in *De Olymp. Stat.* I find there are 188 victors with 192 monuments mentioned by Pausanias in his victor periegesis; 40 inscriptions found at Olympia can be referred to these monuments, while about 60 additional ones have not been identified. This gives a ratio 40 : 192 :: 60 :  $x$  (288), yielding a total of 480 statues on the basis of the small number mentioned by Pausanias; a small fraction of the whole number. Förster (*Olymp. Sieger*, II, p. 30) enumerates 634 victors from all sources — manifestly only a fraction of the whole.

<sup>2</sup> *Olympia, Ergebnisse*, IV, p. 21, nos. 57, 59, 63.      <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* III, p. 216.

Pliny certainly classed Lysippus among bronze workers, for in the preface to his account of bronze sculptors (XXXIV, 37) he tells us that this artist produced fifteen hundred statues, and doubtless we are to infer that he looked upon them as being of metal. He further (XXXIV, 61) speaks of this artist's contributions to the "*statuariae arti*," where it seems clear that the term is used in its narrow sense of sculpture in bronze as opposed to "*sculptura*," that in marble.<sup>1</sup> How firmly the belief that Lysippus worked only in bronze is established can be seen in these very strong words of Overbeck:<sup>2</sup> "*Zu beginnen ist mit wiederholter Hervorhebung der durchaus unzweifelhaften und wichtigen Thatsache, dass Lysippos ausschliesslich Erzgiesser war.*" That Lysippus was preëminently a bronze worker and that his reputation was due to his bronze works cannot be doubted; but to say that he never essayed to produce works in marble (as so many other Greek artists did, who worked in both materials) is, as one lately has termed it, a "*kindisches Vorurteil.*"<sup>3</sup> That marble work was done in his studio is well attested by the reliefs from the basis of the statue of Polydamas mentioned above, which have generally been referred to his pupils.<sup>4</sup> They are so damaged as to be almost worthless as evidence of his style; still the legs of Polydamas himself, in the central relief, so far as they can be made out, are thin and sinewy as in Lysippian work, and doubtless would have been regarded as the work of the master himself, if it had not been taken for granted that he worked only in bronze. But for the same assumption, doubtless some critics would have seen an original from the hand of Lysippus in the statue of Agias at least, if not in the others of the group at Delphi.<sup>5</sup>

It has been generally assumed that the original group of statues in Pharsalus was of bronze, though we have no proof that it may not have been of marble, while the one at Delphi was copied almost simultaneously in marble, so faithfully that even the

<sup>1</sup> So contrasted also in XXXV, 156 and XXXVI, 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesch. d. gr. Pl.*<sup>4</sup> II, p. 150. Among recent writers opposing the view are to be noted: Köpp, *Ueber d. Bildniss Alex. d. Gr.* p. 29; and Preuner, who, *Delph. Weihgesch.* pp. 46-47, clearly shows his doubts.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. Spiro, *W. kl. Phil.* 1904, col. 792.

<sup>4</sup> Illustrations: *Olympia, Ergebnisse*, III, Taf. LV, 1-3.

<sup>5</sup> This is practically Preuner's opinion, *op. cit.* p. 46-47 and 39-40.

proper marble support to the figure of the Agias was omitted. The inexact modelling of the hair of this statue, inasmuch as hair cannot be rendered so perfectly in marble as in bronze, has also been brought forward as a sign that the marble figure was a copy from a bronze original, and the omission of the artist's signature on the base of the marble Agias has been taken to mean that some pupil — Lysistratus has been named — did the work of transference in the master's studio, under his supervision and doubtless from his very model. The slight and sketchy treatment of the hair of the Praxitelian Hermes — for the most part only blocked out — might, on such grounds, be used as evidence that this statue is only a copy, especially as we know that Praxiteles also worked in bronze ; and if one started with the premise that an artist worked only in metal, it would be easy to find in any marble work showing elements of his style, reasons for pronouncing it a copy. Now if the original work at Pharsalus was of bronze, why would it not have been easier to have reproduced it in that material, from the model preserved in the master's studio, than to have transferred it to marble ? Nor does it seem reasonable that Daochus would have had the statue by a great sculptor like Lysippus almost simultaneously (and most authorities think the marble copy was made almost simultaneously with the original) copied in another material by an inferior artist who was free to indulge his individual taste in details, — mechanically exact copies being unknown in the fourth century, — especially as it was to be placed in so prominent a spot as Delphi. It would seem more reasonable to give the orders for the two statues at the same time. I think we should have ascribed the Agias on stylistic grounds to Lysippus as an original work — even if all the details are not so perfect as we should expect from ancient criticisms of his statues — had we known this artist as a worker in marble as well as in bronze. And if the belief once gains ground that Lysippus also produced works in marble, the number of such works to be ascribed to him will not be small. Such monuments as the Lansdowne Heracles, the Vatican Meleager, the beautiful funeral relief from the Ilissus, and other allied works, now for the most part ascribed to the influence of Scopas, will doubtless with justice be looked upon

as Lysippian. It seems there is good evidence for adding at least one more work to the list, this marble head of the Acarnanian pancratiast.

In closing this paper it may be well to sum up briefly the various points discussed. In the first place, it was contended that our conception of the style of Lysippus had been revolutionized by the recent discovery of the marble statue of Agias at Delphi, a work which henceforth should replace the Apoxyomenus, the original of which is now justly referred to a period later than Lysippus, as the centre of our treatment of this artist. Secondly, the Lysippian character of a marble head from Olympia was demonstrated by pointing out its striking resemblance to that of the Agias; and by comparing it with another work in the Lysippian style, the Lansdowne Heracles, it was shown that it could not be the head of that youthful hero, as many have maintained, but must belong to the statue of a victor in the pancratium or the boxing match. Thirdly, this head was assigned to the statue of a certain Acarnanian pancratiast named Philandridas which is mentioned by Pausanias as the work of Lysippus, — the only statue by this artist mentioned in the victor periegesis to which it could be referred, — and it was shown that the head was excavated not far from the spot where the statue of this Acarnanian must have stood, and near which the bases of neighboring statues have been found. The objection that the statues of victors at Olympia were exclusively of bronze has been shown to be ill-founded, as likewise the assumption that Lysippus worked only in metal. The date assigned by circumstantial evidence to the victory of Philandridas — quite independently of other dates in the career of Lysippus — adds another piece of evidence that this artist's activity began earlier than many writers have maintained, at a date which would have been accepted but for the later style of the Apoxyomenus, which they regarded as his work. All this evidence agrees in demonstrating that this beautiful head is an original work from the youthful hand of the great art reformer of the fourth century.

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